

[The Private Plantation]

have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions.

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family.

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former fetor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparenthood; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr\$1,500,00 a month in comparison with Cr\$1,000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruselo for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year.

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[Town Life]

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they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (alpin) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

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Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc, while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

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There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the federal school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapé. These gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

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The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparenthood, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abaré. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

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[Class A Families]

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will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

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The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the religious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suitable position. Family connections are extremely important throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

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As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents) are chosen from close members of the two families, at least for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends of the father as godparents. Children are named after family members of preceding generations or--as has happened in some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

[Class C Families]

sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the husband, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class D Families]

no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home.

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

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CASA GRANDE AND SENZALA

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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."³⁸

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.³⁹ It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.⁴⁰ Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.⁴¹ Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.⁴² The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,⁴³ the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 30 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty, for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this . . . act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their god-children remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 105-06).

⁴⁰ Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

⁴¹ Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

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THE CANDOMBLE

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office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six different African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (approximately \$360). He considers his task to be that of "doing good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which has cost him, it is said, "much money."¹¹ He is godfather to approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo, particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*, and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has "made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a *mãe de santo* in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An *ogan* says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on. Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open, her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

¹¹ An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio (now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately \$720) "to make a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, became angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (literally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

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[SALVADOR]

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important to note that up to now the chief means of social ascent, by which a large number of Blacks and métis have acquired high status, is education in the double sense of good manners and of instruction of a certain level, not to mention adherence to the customs and to the concepts of the predominant culture, which, in the last analysis, is a problem of acculturation or of greater integration of the colored masses into the dominant society. One of the mechanisms that facilitate this integration is the protection and aid that numerous godfathers and godmothers offer their colored godchildren by rearing them in their own houses, by procuring employment for them, by sending them on to secondary and higher studies, and often by continuing afterwards to guide and protect them, this even being one of the principal functions of this system of spiritual kinship.

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The preponderant groups that constitute the upper strata of Bahian society do not oppose these tendencies with organized resistance, and, in accordance with the liberalism that is the basis of their mentality, they consider them proof of moral progress and of "civilization," of which, in general, the Bahians of all types are very proud.

/Tables I-III follow on pages 142-144./